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A Survey *of* Abilities Needed *in* Learning English

D. F. ANDERSON

WHAT ARE THE ABILITIES needed in learning a language? What 'does it take' to get a mastery of English? These are questions that both the teacher and student of English as a foreign language might well ponder with profit. It may easily happen that in our day-to-day teaching or studying we come to over-emphasize some aspects of the language and to minimize others. A detailed consideration of the various factors involved in learning a language may help to restore the balance. A teacher, for example, who is in the habit of giving a piece of dictation to his class at every lesson may benefit by asking himself: 'Precisely what abilities does this exercise develop, and how fundamental are they in the total task of mastering the English language?' The following attempted analysis of the abilities required by the student of English will not answer all such questions, but it is offered in the hope that it may provide some data to help teachers to ask and answer their own questions.

From the point of view of the learner, a foreign language contains three main elements which he has to master:

(*a*) the sounds and sound patterns;

(*b*) the written and printed symbols;

(*c*) the meanings which the sounds and symbols convey.

Fundamentally, language is speech, that is, patterns of sounds by means of which we communicate meaning from one person to another. Man has learned to record these speech sounds in written and printed symbols, which can then be used to represent the sounds, and so convey the same meaning. The learner needs to master both sound and symbol before the language can be said to be fully understood. Thus to 'know Chinese' it is necessary not only to recognize and reproduce the sounds and tones of the spoken language and to know their meanings, but also to recognize at least a proportion of the thousands of separate and distinct ideographs, or 'characters', in which the language is written down. The form of each character has to become associated with the sound of one of the words in the spoken language, and through the sound the meaning is apprehended. Understanding a foreign language implies correct response both to the sounds and the written symbols of which the language is composed.

It is obvious, however, that mastery of a language involves more than the relatively passive process of understanding what is said

or read. Command of a language implies also the ability to reproduce correctly its sound patterns and written symbols. Mere imitation is not enough. The student has to be able to reproduce the sound patterns and written symbols in such a way as to convey his own meaning correctly to a native speaker or reader of the language. Ideally he should be able to 'express himself' in the foreign language. This involves using it as a tool to express his thoughts as effectively as he could in his own tongue. Needless to say, this ideal is seldom reached.

From this elementary *a priori* analysis, it can be seen that language learning requires the formation of four main types of association habits, namely—

(1) sound to meaning;
(2) written symbol (through sound) to meaning;
(3) meaning to sound;
(4) meaning (through sound) to written symbol.

These four types of association habit correspond to the four fundamental language abilities of—

(1) understanding speech;
(2) silent reading;
(3) oral expression;
(4) written expression.

It will be noted that the sound of the words, reduced probably to an auditory image, enters into both reading and writing. In the case of reading, the beginner usually finds it necessary to say aloud the sounds that the written symbols represent. On hearing the sounds he realizes the meaning. At a later stage in learning, the actual production of sounds may be largely repressed, but silent reading is still accompanied by auditory and kinaesthetic images of the sounds, that is, by 'inner speech'. Moreover, a similar process accompanies writing. Here again, speech is fundamental, as we may deduce by observing a child mouthing the words as he writes—an accompaniment to writing that persists in quite a few adults. Even though a more experienced writer represses all outward signs, the process of writing is still accompanied by 'inner speech' in the form of auditory and kinaesthetic images.

Two other combinations of the three fundamental elements, sound, written symbol, and meaning, are evidently possible. These are:

(5) sound to written symbol;
(6) written symbol to sound.

The phonetic dictation and reading of nonsense syllables may serve as illustrations of these two types of association habits in their simplest forms. The pupil hears the sound and writes the appro-

priate symbol. Alternatively, he sees the written symbol and produces the appropriate sound. Such exercises have a small place in language teaching as pronunciation drills, when the teacher intends to concentrate the pupil's whole attention on the recognition and production of unfamiliar sounds or sound combinations, but they are of distinctly limited usefulness. In ordinary class-room teaching, both these types of association are usually enriched by the addition of the further element of meaning. Dictation using the actual words of the foreign language is generally a more useful exercise than dictation of nonsense syllables, because what the pupils then hear is not merely the sound patterns uttered by the teacher, but sound patterns plus meaning. It is this additional element of sense that enables the writer to distinguish between 'right', 'write', 'rite', and 'wright'. Yet, valuable as this exercise may be, the ability to write from dictation cannot be claimed as one of the fundamental language abilities. It is purely derivative, depending upon the pupils' prior achievement in writing and understanding speech. Its usefulness is primarily as a test of spelling, which is only one of the minor abilities involved in writing and reading. Similarly, the practice of reading aloud should not be over-emphasized. At its lowest, it may easily degenerate into 'barking at print'—to use Sir John Adams's phrase. It can be useful as a test of pronunciation, and the pupil's phrasing and expressiveness in reading may give some general indication of the amount of his comprehension. But still, the fundamental ability in reading is that of getting meaning from print, and tests that directly measure this ability will be more efficient than an exercise that gives only a partial and indirect indication of the amount of comprehension. Thus, the four fundamental language abilities remain as: understanding speech, silent reading, oral and written expression. Let us now examine these four aspects of achievement in more detail, especially as they apply to English when taught as a foreign language.

UNDERSTANDING SPEECH

In trying to understand a foreign language when it is spoken to us, it is apparent that at least two factors are involved. First there is the sensory basis of speech, the actual sounds and sound patterns which pass from one person to another; and second, there is the meaning to be attached to the sound patterns by the listener. The first of these factors is concerned with sensations of sound and their correct identification. The second is a matter of perception—the interpretation of the sensations received in the light of previous experience. Let us first discuss the sensory basis, which we might

describe as the correct identification by the listener of the sounds emitted by the speaker.

When listening to our native language, we have usually little difficulty in identifying the actual sounds and sound patterns used. Occasionally when we hear a new name, as when being introduced to someone, we may 'fail to pick it up', but in ordinary connected speech, we have comparatively little difficulty on this score. In learning a foreign language, however, this identification of the sounds used is not always quite so simple. Some of the obstacles may be mentioned.

(1) In some cases, the foreign language presents sounds or sound groups that may be entirely new to the listener. The 'th' (θ ð) sounds in English, for example, are new to a Frenchman, just as the 'ch' (x) in German is strange to an Englishman. Then the tendency is for the learner to hear the sound as its nearest phonetic equivalent in his own language, which leads the Frenchman to hear 'three' as 'tree' and the Englishman to hear 'Bach' as 'back'.

(2) In other cases, which may be still more confusing, the foreign language may require the listener to make clear distinctions between pairs of sounds that are not clearly distinguished in his own language. Some Chinese dialects, for example, make no clear distinction between initial 'l' and 'n' or between 'l' and 'r'. A speaker of the Hupeh dialect will repeat a word, beginning first with 'l' and then with 'n', without being aware that he has made any difference between them. In certain combinations the two sounds belong to the same phoneme, whereas in English they belong to different phonemes. This must create some difficulty for him in distinguishing between 'lot' and 'not' or 'light' and 'night'. Occasionally the whole meaning of a sentence may depend upon making such a distinction. 'The girl was thinking' may come to the ears of the foreign student as 'The girl was sinking' or 'singing'. Shades of difference between vowels are even more confusing and still more prevalent. Daniel Jones[1] summarizes these two obstacles thus: 'There are two chief circumstances in which sounds are "mis-heard" as other sounds. The first is the common case where a person fails to estimate correctly the quality of a sound of a foreign language, and identifies it with a sound of his own mother-tongue . . . The second case is where the various members of a phoneme are not recognized as being different from each other.'

(3) A third obstacle is the difficulty of adapting oneself to the rhythms and intonations of a foreign language. Lloyd James,[2] writing about intelligibility as one of the important standards of

[1] Jones, Daniel. *The Phoneme: its Nature and Use*, pp. 36–39. Heffer, 1950.
[2] Lloyd James, A. *The Broadcast Word*, pp. 157–8. Kegan Paul, 1935.

good speech, claimed that rhythm and intonation are even more important than accuracy in the use of individual sounds. 'Rhythm is a critical factor in intelligibility, and inability to reproduce English rhythm is one of the most frequent reasons why foreigners are misunderstood . . . The intonation pattern is as essential to intelligibility as the rhythm.' In the case of Chinese, failure to catch an intonation may result in failure to understand a whole sentence. The importance of intonation in conveying meaning in English is now being more fully appreciated. It may be important for a visitor from abroad to appreciate the shades of difference in meaning conveyed by the simple reply 'All right' when said in different tones, varying from grudging agreement to a willing consent to a request.

(4) Closely allied to the difficulties of rhythm and intonation, is the difficulty of speed of utterance. The student of English needs to be trained not only to hear the differences between the phonemes and intonations of English, but to hear English speech at the speed normally used by English speakers. It is a questionable service to the student for his teacher to accustom him to understand only a slow and stilted form of speaking. At the normal rate of speaking the weak forms of the commoner structural words fall into their place, and by contrast the content words stand out with their proper emphasis, thus assisting the listener to grasp the main idea the speaker is trying to convey.

These are some of the difficulties met by the listener in identifying the sounds of the foreign language correctly. The development of this ability should be one of the major objectives in the earlier stages of learning English, and the native speaker of English should not be misled by the fact that he himself experiences little difficulty in understanding on this score. The difficulty of hearing correctly the sounds produced is a very real one for most students of a foreign language. For example, in a test of auditory comprehension, some Indian and Chinese pupils were presented orally with the question: 'When a man lacks money, how do we describe him?' They were asked to choose the right answer among the words 'rich', 'thief', 'poor', 'selfish', 'greedy', which they had in front of them. The majority chose 'greedy'. Presumably this was because they 'mis-heard' the question as 'When a man *likes* money' instead of '*lacks* money'. Further, the development of this ability is important not only for understanding spoken English: it is also the foundation of a good pronunciation of the language. Unless the pupil has been carefully trained to hear the differences between the English phonemes, both singly and in words, how can he check the correctness of his own reproduction of them?

A side issue may be touched on here. We are discussing understanding spoken English: but what kind of English pronunciation is to be the standard? The form of the foreign language that is easiest to understand is that which is most closely related to our own speech habits. An Indian student of English often finds it easier to understand one of his own countrymen speaking English than a native born English speaker. This is because the Indian tends to carry over into English the pronunciations, rhythms, and intonations of his own language. An African pupil, trained only by African teachers, may at first have difficulty in understanding English as pronounced by an Englishman. But in trying to assess his degree of understanding spoken English, the standard by which he must be judged is not African English but standard English pronunciation as used by educated British people. The particular dialect of English known as Received Pronunciation has the advantage of being more widely used than any other, and therefore to understand it opens to the learner a wider range of English speech than any other form. This implies that the student who can understand this dialect of English is better able to 'understand English' than one who is accustomed only to African or Indian English.

The second main factor affecting the understanding of spoken English is the perceptual factor—the correct interpretation of the sensations received through the ear. The question here is not 'Has the learner heard the sounds correctly?' but 'Does he attach the correct meaning to the sounds he receives?' This raises the further question, 'What is the correct meaning?' The answer is, 'The meaning that the speaker intended to convey'. Unless there is some common ground of experience between speaker and listener, there can be no communication of meaning, no matter what sounds pass between them. The speaker has in mind certain experiences associated with particular patterns of sounds. The sounds he emits can have no meaning for the listener unless he has some similar experience associated with the same sounds. As Eisenson[1] puts it: 'We must not assume, however, that community of reference implies identity of meanings. Because the apperceptive mass—the body of the individual's experiences and memories—is different for each person, identity of meanings is not possible. Fortunately, identity of meaning is not necessary for ordinary communication. We get along with our neighbours by understanding the approximate meanings of the words they use. We never completely understand what we hear: the degree of understanding is determined by the similarity of past experiences between the speaker and listener in regard to the words used.' In the case of learning a

[1] Eisenson, Jon. *The Psychology of Speech*, p. 75. Harrap, 1938.

foreign language, this requisite degree of community of experience is obviously much harder to achieve. The important point is that it should never be taken for granted. Differences in the physical environment from one country to another make community of reference hard to achieve. Things found in an English home, for example, may be entirely different from those that an Arab pupil would be accustomed to find in his home. The teacher may explain the meanings of the words connected with the equipment of the home, but the lack of common experience remains a barrier to complete understanding. Even more difficult to explain are the differences in the social environment—behaviour, customs, politeness, what is 'done' and what is 'not done', not to mention the ideals and ideas that underly social behaviour. To understand a foreign language is not simply a matter of attaching the corresponding meaning in one's own language to a word in the foreign language: it is much more—it involves entering into the whole way of life, and trying to understand the total culture of the foreign nation.

To understand a spoken word the listener needs to be able to supplement and interpret on the basis of past experience the sound image that reaches his brain. The speaker provides the stimulus: the listener calls up the associations in his own mind with the sounds that he hears. The pronunciation of the word may not be exactly as he himself would pronounce it, but must be near enough for him to recognize it. The vowel sound in the word 'bat', for example, may be given different phonetic values by different speakers, but must still be distinguishable from 'bet' and 'but'. Given this basic similarity, the sound will call up in the listener's mind certain associations in the form of visual, auditory, and kinaesthetic images, and thus he attaches meaning to the single word.

In ordinary circumstances, however, more than this is involved, since words are not usually heard in isolation but in groups. To quote Gardiner's dictum:[1] 'The sentence is the unit of speech.' To understand the sentence the listener must know the meaning of all the single words used, or be able to infer some of them from the context. This includes also the ability to understand the significance of the inflected forms of the words, such as the tenses of the verbs. But still more is needed. The listener requires to grasp the meaning of the sentence as a whole by appreciating the significance of the word order and the sentence structure used. In English the order of the words is an essential part of the whole meaning of the

[1] Gardiner, A. H. *The Theory of Speech and Language*, p. 88. Clarendon Press, 1932.

sentence. To quote Bertrand Russell;[1] 'The meaning of a sentence, at any rate in some cases, is determined by the series of words, not by the class. In such cases, the meaning of the sentence is not obtainable as an aggregate of the meanings of the several words.' Every teacher of English is familiar with the pupil who knows all the words, but cannot understand the sentence. To appreciate the difference between 'He only spoke English' and 'He spoke only English' requires more than a knowledge of the meaning of all the words. To understand connected speech, the listener needs to be familiar with the significance of the common sentence patterns used in English, including the various types of complex sentences. It is for this reason that modern courses of study emphasize the practice of sentence types and of words in sentences rather than drill on individual word meanings. When these various elements associated with the patterns of sound penetrate the listener's consciousness, he reorganizes them into a chain of meaning—a whole thought. He reconstructs in his own mind something approximating to the original thought in the mind of the speaker. As already suggested in considering single words, he cannot reconstruct the identical thought of the speaker, for his reconstruction is coloured by his own peculiar associations and reactions. Thus listening is an active process of response to the sound images that reach the brain.

Another factor affecting the listener's ability to understand is his auditory memory span. Pillsbury[2] describes the process of understanding speech as follows: 'It is probable that sentences are appreciated as units in listening, at least that interpreting does not keep pace with the sound always, but runs backward from some point. This is clear from the fact that the interpretation put upon many sounds depends upon words that come later in the sentence. Even in attentive listening, particularly to the sounds of a foreign language, the word spoken dawns gradually after the sentence is completed. Frequently, too, one interpretation will be put upon a sound at first, and later when the whole sentence is heard, it will be seen that quite a different word was meant. Interpretation may lag a sentence behind hearing. In writing from dictation this can be clearly seen.' In listening to a rather long and complex sentence, the listener has to hold the earlier parts of the sentence in mind while still receiving the later parts. Otherwise he cannot make the necessary connections that enable him to interpret the complete

[1] Russell, Bertrand. *An Inquiry into Meaning and Truth*, p. 38. Allen and Unwin, 1940.

[2] Pillsbury, W. B. and Meader, C. L. *The Psychology of Language*, p. 145. Appleton, 1928.

thought of the speaker. Ability to do this is largely conditioned by the hearer's familiarity with the material heard both in its vocabulary and content. It is also partly a matter of his auditory memory span, that is, the number of words that he can hold in his mind as a unit. Even in listening to one's native language, the auditory memory span has limits. Broadcast speakers are urged to make their sentences short and simple rather than long and complex. In listening to a foreign language, the memory span is probably a good deal shorter than in listening to one's native language. In the early stages of his study, the learner will be able to take in only very short, simple sentences. One of the signs of his progress will be an increasing ability to comprehend a longer sentence as a unit of speech. From the teacher the development of this ability in his pupils will call for careful grading of materials and for systematic drill. As Dunkel[1] says: 'Possibly no generalized training to improve the span of aural memory is possible. Perhaps the only possibility is specific training along the lines of mim-mem (mimicry and memorization) in which the student will learn by heart a large number of usual "patterns", or phrases and sentences . . . The number of such phrases will necessarily be very large; aural comprehension will possibly improve in direct proportion to the number mastered.'

UNDERSTANDING WRITTEN SYMBOLS

Reading may be tentatively defined as the process of interpreting written or printed symbols. The processes involved in reading at various stages in learning may be further analyzed as follows:

(1) *The beginning stage.*—The stimulus of the written or printed symbols reaches the brain and arouses various associations. The primary association is that of the sound of the word. In the early stages of learning to read, the pupil usually finds it necessary to say the word aloud. On hearing the actual sound of the word, or on perceiving the auditory and kinaesthetic images called up by the visual stimulus, the reader recognizes the word, that is, the sound (or the auditory-kinaesthetic image) calls up associations which have previously become attached to that sound pattern. A child, for example, before he comes to school has had some experience of cats, so that he knows that the sound pattern kæt refers to a certain kind of animal. In school he is presented with the written or printed symbol 'cat'. As he hears and says the sound, the teacher recalls to his mind his previous associations with that sound pattern. Thus at the most elementary stage learning to read necessitates forming a new associative bond between a printed symbol and a

[1] Dunkel, H. B. *Second-language Learning*, p. 40. Ginn, 1948.

sound, where the sound is already associated with some object or action. The child already knows the word in its spoken form, and learning to read involves forming new associations between the familiar auditory-kinaesthetic image and the new visual image representing the word in its written or printed form.

(2) *The transition from oral to silent reading.*—As the printed symbols become more familiar in course of practice, it becomes less and less necessary for words to be read aloud before they can be associated with their corresponding auditory-articulatory image. The visual symbol by itself becomes a sufficient stimulus to call up the meanings associated with the spoken word. Young readers may often be observed 'mouthing' the words, articulating without actually producing the sounds, but as speed of recognition of words increases this habit becomes less and less necessary and tends to fade out. The original oral reading habit is gradually replaced by 'inner speech', that is, a partial articulation of the sounds, accompanied by their auditory-kinaesthetic images. In expert silent reading, all visible outward movements of the speech organs are repressed, though the presence of minute movements of the speech organs can be detected by the use of sensitive instruments. Silent reading can be much more rapid than oral reading, because the eye can move more rapidly in taking in words than the tongue can move in articulating them. In general, the more completely speech is repressed the more efficient the reading.

(3) *Reading by word groups.*—Vernon[1] and others have made detailed investigations of the eye movements in reading, and it has been established that the more experienced and efficient reader takes in groups of words between each movement of the eye, unless some special difficulty is encountered in the form of a new or difficult word or expression. It is the poor reader who reads word by word. The good reader grasps the meaning from small groups of words at each fixation of the eye. The better the reader the greater his eye span, that is, the number of words taken in at each sweep of his eye. This finding underlines the importance of context in conveying meaning. To quote Pillsbury[2] again: 'The meaning of a word is determined by the total setting of the sentence or larger unit, rather than by the word itself and its immediate setting.' The reading of individual words may be no more than the attaching of a sound to a symbol, and is more aptly described as 'word naming' than reading in the full sense. A child, for example, may reproduce the sound of the word 'bark' without attaching very much

[1] Vernon, M. D. *The Experimental Study of Reading*, chapter IV. Cambridge University Press, 1931.

[2] Pillsbury, W. B. Op. cit., p. 141.

meaning to the sound. But when he sees the phrase 'Dogs bark', and reproduces its sounds, he is more likely to connect the sounds with his previous experience. Word naming is an essential part of the reading process at the elementary stage, but reading in its proper sense involves more than identifying either the sound or the meaning of individual words. Reading requires the following of a chain of meanings, with the reader reconstructing something approximating to the original complete thought that was in the mind of the writer. It is possible for a reader to know the meanings of each of the words in a sentence, and still not grasp its meaning as a whole. As Gray[1] says: 'Reading involves both the recognition of the meaning of words and phrases, and the organisation of the various elements of meaning into a chain of ideas or an integrated system of thought.' He then goes on to add that the reader 'not only recognizes the essential facts or ideas presented, but also reflects on their significance, evaluates them critically, discovers relationships between them, and clarifies his understanding of the ideas apprehended.' This is certainly the ideal of the most intensive type of reading, though it may be questioned whether the reader's reaction to what he reads is in fact always as thorough as this implies (as, for example, in skimming through a novel). What is undoubted is that reading is more than merely producing the appropriate sound at the sight of the word. It is a process of reconstructing thought according to the visual pattern presented, and into that reconstruction something of the reader's own personal reactions are bound to enter, thus colouring his understanding of what he reads.

What has been said so far has been an analysis of the process of reading one's own language. We have assumed that the learner approaches reading with some command of the spoken language. The question arises: 'Do the same processes apply in the case of learning to read a foreign language?' When learning to read a foreign language there are various possible ways of attaching meaning to the printed symbol.

(1) At the lowest level it would seem to be possible to take a dictionary and with its aid to find the meaning in one's own language for each word in the foreign sentence, and so by piecing together arrive at an approximation to the meaning. This is an entirely different process from reading in its proper sense. It is deciphering. The individual words are not necessarily identified as sounds, and so will leave very little impression on the learner's

[1] Gray, W. S. *The Teaching of Reading: a Second Report*, pp. 25–26. Thirty-sixth Yearbook, National Society for the Study of Education, Part 1. Public School Publishing Co., 1937.

memory. Further, it is not always possible to find exact equivalents in the native language for each word in the foreign language. And finally, the meaning of a sentence, as we have already pointed out, is often more than the sum of its parts. Buswell[1] asserts: 'The psychological distinction between deciphering and reading can scarcely be over-emphasized. The difference is clear-cut. When students read they are rapidly fusing the word symbols into consecutive thought units with no consideration of the words as such. It is only this process of comprehending meaning that can properly be designated as reading.'

(2) A second level of ability in reading a foreign language might be designated 'the translating reader'. In this case the reader learns to pronounce the words in the foreign language, but the sound of the foreign word is linked primarily to the corresponding word in his own language, and so indirectly to the meaning. In reading he will produce approximately the appropriate sounds, and in some cases these will convey the meaning directly to him, but whenever difficulty in understanding arises, he will try to express the thought of the writer in his own language. This represents a stage in advance of deciphering, for such a reader is concerned with the complete thoughts rather than the individual words of the writer. West[2] maintains that it is possible for the translation process to be gradually short-circuited by the teacher insisting on speed in silent reading of material which contains no new words. In such conditions the reader no longer feels the need for reference to his own language, and the translation habit, which naturally slows down the rate of reading, can gradually be sloughed off. Other writers are not so sanguine about the possibility of thus short-circuiting translation. Once the habit is established of constant reference to the mother-tongue, the process of translation may be speeded up but is never completely superseded, and as long as translation persists the maximum speed of reading will not be attained.

(3) A third level might be designated as 'the direct reader'. At this level the teacher attempts to reproduce more or less the same conditions as obtain in the case of the child learning to read his native language. Words which are to be read are first taught as speech, probably by some modified direct method technique. Particularly in the initial stages it is considered important to build new direct associations between familiar objects and actions and their foreign names. Only when these associations have been

[1] Buswell, G. T. *A Laboratory Study of the Reading of Modern Foreign Languages*, p. 93. New York. Macmillan, 1928.

[2] West, M. *How to Use the New Method Readers: a Teacher's Handbook*, p. 40. Longmans Green, 1936.

sufficiently established so that the child is able to think about these objects or actions in the foreign language will he be taught to read the symbols for them. It is claimed that on this system the learner attains greater fluency in reading and more perfect comprehension, because he is freed from the necessity of constant cross reference to another series of auditory symbols in his own language. It is also more possible for him to understand whole thoughts as represented by the sentence patterns of the foreign language. Reading in the fullest sense becomes possible. It is a question whether a similar result can be obtained through rapid silent reading of material that has been originally learnt by translation. On this system the insistence on speed comes at the stage when the material is being learned aurally and practised orally before reading of it has begun. In any case, the foreign reader must pass through stages similar to those of the native child learning to read. He will begin with predominantly oral reading with emphasis on correct word recognition, and pass on to mainly silent reading with emphasis on reading by word groups. Full articulation will be gradually suppressed and words will be only partially perceived as cues to the meaning of the passage as a whole. The teacher can hasten this development by the use of flash cards presenting short commands, questions to be answered, and statements to be read, gradually increasing the length of the sentence. This device helps to lengthen the eye span and so to increase the number of words taken in at each movement of the eye. By presenting the flash card for only a very few seconds the speed of reading is forcibly increased. The teacher can also stimulate the formation of correct reading habits by emphasizing the fundamental purpose of reading as getting the meaning from the page and doing it as quickly as possible.

A word may be said here on the understanding of speech in relation to the understanding of written material. The amount of transfer from the understanding of printed material to the understanding of spoken material is often surprisingly small. Where a foreign student of English has learnt entirely by reading and translation methods, he may have great difficulty in understanding spoken English. He may have a wide vocabulary and a good understanding of English constructions as he has met them in books, but he is tied to the printed symbol. He may even try to translate the words he hears into visual images so that he can read them in his mind. In listening to a speech he may understand very little, and yet be quite capable of understanding the newspaper report the next day. Part of the difficulty may be due to differences of pace. In reading, the learner can suit the speed to his understanding, and can, if

necessary, go back over the material more than once when he fails to catch the meaning. In listening to speech the pace is determined for him by the speaker, and there is usually no opportunity for repetitions to suit individual needs. If words are to be understood as sounds, specific training for this purpose needs to be given apart from training in reading.

EXPRESSION IN LANGUAGE

When we come to consider the 'active' aspects of language learning, that is, those concerned with expression in speech and writing, it becomes more difficult to analyze the various abilities involved. In understanding speech and in reading the pupil is required to respond to limited, objective stimuli, namely, sounds and print. But when the learner in turn tries to produce the spoken or written symbols of language, the stimulus which moves him to do so is no less than the total situation in which he finds himself in relation to his total knowledge of the language. Such elements as the following are parts of the total stimulus:

(1) The audience he is addressing. His teacher, his mother, his playmate, will each call forth a different type of speech.
(2) His purpose in speaking or writing, e.g. to ask for his supper, to warn another child to get out of the way of his scooter, or to answer an examination question in school.
(3) The thoughts and ideas he has in mind to express.
(4) His power of selecting and arranging his ideas in coherent form and correct order. In more complex situations this involves some degree of logical analysis.
(5) His knowledge of sentence forms and word patterns that he can use in order to relate his thoughts in proper sequence.
(6) His store of words already learnt on which he can draw to express his ideas. This store consists of his 'active vocabulary' or the words he can recall to meet the needs of the total situation, as distinguished from his 'passive vocabulary' consisting of the words whose meaning he recognizes in reading or listening, but which he does not normally use in his own speech or writing.
(7) The affective elements in the situation as they influence expression. Associations with certain words, for example, may be blocked owing to their emotional connections with previous painful experiences. Not only the choice of words may be affected by the associated feeling tone, but the whole form of expression used may be determined by the feelings aroused by the situation. This is well illustrated in Watts's

test[1] of seven different ways of asking a person to close a door, ranging from the polite 'I wonder if you would mind closing the door for me' to the irate 'For goodness' sake, close the door'.

In view of the complexity of the processes involved in expression, a complete analysis is out of the question here. All that can be attempted is a more detailed consideration of a few of the more purely linguistic factors, with special reference to expression in English when learned as a foreign language. Expression in speaking and writing have certain elements in common which will be considered first, before going on to discuss the factors that differentiate speaking from writing.

The two prime requisites in any form of linguistic expression are very obviously: (1) having something to say, and, (2) knowing how to say it. In the case of a child learning his own language these two sides of expression develop more or less *pari passu*. For the foreign learner, however, the difficulty is primarily one of expression. He starts, in most cases, with a stock of ideas already acquired through the medium of his own tongue, and, as Huse[2] points out, the greater the store of ideas he wants to express, the more difficult he finds it to express them in the new language. The adult learner is handicapped by the resistance set up by the old-established habits of his native speech. He is also handicapped by the very range and complexity of the ideas he wants to express. The foreigner's basic difficulty thus lies in knowing how to express in the new language the ideas that have already found a form of expression in his own language.

To express his ideas he requires first of all to acquire a whole stock of new words for old ideas—the corresponding words for things, actions, and qualities with which he is already familiar. Difficulties will arise particularly over new words which do not correspond exactly to the old ideas, since meanings in many cases do not correspond exactly in the two languages, and he must constantly beware of assuming that they do. Then the new language is almost certain to bring to his notice a number of new concepts for which his own language may have no single counterpart at all. Besides the learning of single words, he must also face the acquisition of new collocations and idioms, such as the prepositional phrases, prepositions used with verbs, &c.

The new words he must learn may first be acquired as a reading

[1] Watts, A. F. *The Language and Mental Development of Children*, p. 80. Harrap, 1944.

[2] Huse, H. R. *Reading and Speaking Foreign Languages*, p. 9. University of North Carolina Press, 1945.

vocabulary. In that case, he will recognize the words when they are met in reading, either singly or in context, and he learns to attach the correct meaning to the printed symbol. For purposes of expression, however, a further degree of mastery is required. The idea, along with the total situation which provides the context of his thought, provides the stimulus to recall to his mind the oral and/or written symbols required to express his idea. Recall makes greater demands than mere recognition, but it is recall that expression requires. Sometimes this will involve the recall of more than one word of similar or connected meaning, and then the speaker or writer has to make a choice from among several synonyms, e.g. beautiful, lovely, pretty, handsome, charming, exquisite. The correct choice in such cases will be based upon a wide acquaintance with the language, from which the student has built up experience of the kind of context that requires one particular word in preference to another, e.g. 'a handsome man'—not 'a pretty man'. A choice of a similar kind has also to be made in suiting the style of writing or speaking to the requirements of the social situation. Mastery of expression necessitates recognizing and applying the different types of speech appropriate, for example, to the lecture hall, the drawing room, and the smoking room. This implies that the speaker or writer must have at his command different styles of expression suited to both the formal and the informal occasion. The foreigner who asks his society hostess: 'And how are your kids today?', has failed to adapt his language to the social context, and the error is just as serious as a grammatical solecism or habits of mispronunciation.

The second requirement of expression is that the student has to learn to put together the words he has learnt in new patterns of speech or writing. This may be even more difficult to learn than the new vocabulary. Word order, for instance, may be entirely different from that of his native language. 'Pidgin English', though it consists of English words, is put together according to Chinese constructions and idioms, which makes it almost incomprehensible to the neophyte. The Chinese speaker of 'pidgin English' learns a limited English vocabulary which he applies according to the structures of his own language: the English learner has to limit himself to this vocabulary and has to acquire the Chinese idioms and constructions—a rather amusing example of linguistic bargaining and compromise. The learning of new constructions and sentence patterns may be an even more onerous task than acquiring a new vocabulary, for closely connected with it, in English at least, are all the various inflections of words as required by their position in the sentence and the meaning to be expressed. The more adult

the learner the more he is likely to want to modify the expression of his ideas by various qualifications. To do this requires the mastery of the different types of complex sentence in the new language, which may sometimes be used to express thought forms quite different from his own.

Besides the mastery of the various types of sentence construction, a further ability is required in the writer or speaker—the ability to order his thoughts so that he knows clearly which ideas are primary and which secondary, and in which order they should come. Stalnaker[1] proposes 'that the ability to present ideas in an orderly fashion can be broken down into the following elements:

(1) ability to express clearly one's purposes in presenting ideas,
(2) ability to separate relevant from irrelevant materials,
(3) ability to recognize proper co-ordination and subordination of ideas, and
(4) ability to arrange ideas in proper sequence.'

These abilities are fundamental to all expression whether oral or written, whether in one's own or in another language. As they are not peculiarly characteristic of expression in a foreign language, we shall not discuss them further here.

Expression in the foreign language thus requires mastery of these two main elements which may be roughly designated as vocabulary and construction. According to the older ideas of language learning, the student first learned the new vocabulary, then studied the rules of the new grammar, and by applying the new words according to the new rules, he succeeded in writing or speaking the new language correctly. Unfortunately there were many slips between cup and lip in the working out of this apparently logical scheme. Sometimes the pupil forgot the particular rule of grammar that he ought to have applied. Or he remembered the rule, but applied it wrongly. From the psychological point of view he could hardly be expected to succeed. In trying to express oneself, the idea one wants to express is foremost in the mind. Next is the relationship of that idea to those that have gone before and those that come after. If at the same time we have to try to recollect the rule on page 287 of the grammar book, and wonder whether this is the one that applies, and if so whether we are doing so correctly, it would be a minor miracle if we succeeded in saying anything worth saying at all. In actual fact that is not how people write or speak in their own or any other language. They 'keep

[1] Stalnaker, J. M. Reported by W. W. Cook in *Teaching Language in the Elementary School*, p. 208. Forty-third Yearbook, National Society for the Study of Education, 1944.

their eye on the ball'—in this case, the content of the ideas they want to put across—and the form the ideas take comes almost unconsciously. The newer methods of language learning emphasize the importance of composition by analogy as one of the basic processes in expression. The pupils are encouraged to learn type sentences by heart and to practise them by the use of substitution tables. At the same time the effort is made to build up by extensive reading of easy material a feeling for the right form or pattern, based partly on unconscious assimilation and only to a lesser extent on grammatical analysis. This method seems to correspond more closely to the processes by which we check the correctness of expression in using our native language. Pillsbury,[1] in discussing the process of censoring language expression, says: 'On the whole, the judgment is passed in terms of unformulated experience. The sentence pleases or does not please at once. Then on the side of mere expression, one usually looks first to see what it is that does not please, then discovers the part of the expression that is wrong; and finally may decide how this is wrong and why, by reference to rules and canons of good taste . . . The first vague dissatisfaction comes not only first, but much more frequently than either analysis of the error or making reference to accepted rules of practice to justify one's criticism.' This kind of self-correction is the ideal towards which the language teacher should work, but it can develop only as a result of a fairly wide acquaintance with a foreign language. The important point to be noted is that the acquisition of grammatical rules is not an effective short-cut to the same result, as so many teachers think. If the pupil fails to sense the presence of an error in the sentence, no amount of grammatical knowledge will lead him to correct it. The use of grammar is largely *post hoc*, as a means of checking an error analysis that has already been made. In many cases it is impossible even for the teacher to adduce the grammatical rule that applies to the error. Frequently the wrong expression is simply 'un-English' and the teacher falls back on the 'explanation': 'We don't say it like that'. This type of error is often caused by direct transference of an expression from the native language through translation. In this same connection, Symonds[2] found with American children that 'mere repetition of correct forms, where it is clearly indicated what is correct and what the critical point at issue is, has more influence on usage than any procedure with grammar.' Grammar, he found, was useful only for the brighter children as a summary of the usage which

[1] Pillsbury, W. B. Op. cit., pp. 197–99.
[2] Symonds, P. M. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1931, p. 93.

had already been learnt directly. Some more recent writers[1] advocate that both the correct form and the error which the child makes in usage should be presented to him, clearly and correctly labelled, rather than giving only the correct form. From all this it would appear that the ability for abstract grammatical analysis and the application of grammatical categories and rules is much less important than many language teachers think. Practice in deduction and induction probably bears less fruit than specific drill on the correct forms of the common errors, combined with practice with sentence types and extensive reading of easy material to build up the sense of what 'sounds right'.

In the case of the child learning his own language, errors are likely to arise from hearing incorrect speech in his environment outside the school. The 'He ain't got' and 'Who done it?' type of error arises from transfer from the home and street, and such errors in writing can be traced back to faulty speech. For this reason, and also because speaking provides by far the greater proportion of language expression, it is very important that corrections of errors should be practised orally as well as in writing. In this way they are learned as correct patterns of sound and speech, which will later be expressed in written form. These considerations, however, do not apply with the same force to the foreign learner. In many cases he will hear very little English outside the classroom, so that the teacher does not have to combat the influence of incorrect usage arising from the environment outside school. Further, the source and standard of his English come more from book English than in the case of the English or American child. It is thus less likely to be contaminated at the source, unless through mistakes made by the teacher in his own oral expression. The main source of error is usually the transference of the constructions and collocations of his own language to English. Some errors occur because the foreign language makes distinctions that are not required in the native language. English, for instance, makes a large number of tense discriminations that are not required in Chinese. The difficulty for the Chinese student lies not so much in learning the formation of the tenses as in appreciating the need for making such subtle distinctions as exist in English between the use of the perfect and the past tenses, not to mention the past perfect. Chinese thought is less exact in such matters and would generally be content to express all past time by one form of verb plus adverbs of time. The difficulty of the tenses for the Chinese

[1] McKee, P. and Smith, D. V. *Teaching Language in the Elementary School*, p. 34 and p. 85. Forty-third Yearbook, National Society for the Study of Education, 1944.

student is to appreciate why they should be necessary in English.

Let us now try to differentiate the abilities required in spoken and written expression. Of the two, speech is the more fundamental. It comes first in the child's development in using his own language, and even in studying a foreign language, a considerable amount of practice in the spoken language, even if only through oral reading, usually precedes writing. Further, when we write we usually speak inwardly what we mean to write down. Written expression is intimately connected with the production of sounds or sound images. This does not imply that these sounds must be 'correct' according to the standard pronunciation of the language. All that is meant is that written expression is normally conceived first in the mind in sound images, and is articulated silently or aloud as it is committed to paper. This primacy of oral expression emphasizes the importance of giving a large amount of oral practice of material that is to be used later for writing.

Opinion differs as to the relative difficulty of speech and writing. On the one hand, writing is the more complex process as it requires the ability to recall and reproduce both the written symbols and the oral ones. A pupil, for example, might be able to say a simple sentence in English, and yet be unable to spell all the words in it correctly. Again, writing often requires a more formal type of composition than ordinary speech. The very fact of placing one's thoughts on record makes one more careful about introducing all necessary qualifications, about choosing the words that will most exactly convey one's meaning, and about the logical ordering of the sentences. In speaking to another person there is a two-way traffic. We can see whether he is following and introduce qualifications and additional explanations as needed, or answer questions if our meaning is not clear. But in writing, the expression of thought has to be complete and self-contained. This makes for greater formality and more elaboration both of vocabulary and structure. The writing vocabulary of the educated adult is frequently much larger than that which he uses in conversation, since most people have an aversion to 'talking like a book'. Sentence constructions used in writing tend to be more complex than in speaking: the foregoing sentence, for example, would seldom be used in informal speech. Shorter sentences are used in speaking than in writing. These considerations apply to speaking and writing our own language. How far do they apply in studying a foreign language? Even at the elementary stage the pupil comes up against the difference between speech and writing, when he learns to say 'haven't' and 'I'm' although in his book it is written 'have not' and 'I am'. Quite early in his course he learns to make a distinction between spoken

and written forms. As he progresses to the more advanced stages, however, he tends to carry over into his speaking the forms of the written or literary language, so making his speech sound stilted and pedantic to the native ear. It is necessary to draw the pupil's attention to the distinctions between written and spoken expression, and to teach the forms appropriate to each, though, of course, there will be a considerable amount of overlap between the two. As to which is the more difficult for the foreign learner—spoken or written English—on the one hand we have to set the more restricted vocabulary needed for conversation and the simpler constructions used: on the other hand, speech has its own vocabulary that has to be learnt—varying from formal speech to informal conversation to slang. Further, there is a difference in the rapidity of response required. As Stott[1] points out: 'To learn to speak correctly in a foreign language needs a far greater degree of habituation than does correct writing. In writing one can pause to think and revise. Speaking allows us neither time nor a second chance. It follows, then, that if it is impracticable to teach the average child in a secondary school course a written mastery of a wide range of grammar, it is utopian to expect him to use the same wide range correctly in speech.' A partial answer to this argument is that in speaking the pupil is not expected to use the same wide range of construction and vocabulary as in writing. As to the greater habituation needed, one of the arguments in favour of more emphasis on speech is that it requires from the pupil that immediate and automatic response that is desirable in all language learning if real mastery is to be attained.

The main requirements for being able to speak English well are: (1) accuracy, and, (2) fluency. By accuracy most people understand correctness of the pronunciation of vowels and consonants according to Received Pronunciation, but more than this is involved. Correct distribution of stress in individual words and in whole phrases and sentences is possibly just as important as accuracy in the production of individual sounds. Correct stress is a major factor in the rhythm of English speech, and correct rhythm is more necessary for intelligibility than most foreign learners realize. Lloyd James[2] says: 'The easiest way to be unintelligible in a language is to speak it on a wrong rhythm . . . Rhythm, and rhythm alone, is often the determining factor in intelligibility.' Another important element in accuracy of speech is correct intonation. Use of the wrong intonation may convey an entirely different impression from that intended

[1] Stott, D. H. *Language Teaching in the New Education*, p. 52. University of London Press, 1946.

[2] Lloyd James, A. Op. cit., p. 86.

by the speaker, though his pronunciation in other respects may be quite correct.

Correct rhythm is intimately bound up with fluency of pronunciation. Unless the student has achieved a certain degree of speed in the automatic production of English speech sounds, it is impossible for him to reproduce the correct rhythms and intonations of normal English speech. Fluency of pronunciation is based on what Palmer calls 'catenizing'. This he defines as: 'Learning to pronounce accurately and rapidly a given succession of sounds, without conscious calculation, generally apart from all considerations of meaning. A sentence, phrase, or word is said to be catenized when the student can articulate it at a moment's notice with fluency and without conscious effort.' The smooth linking of words that need to be connected in a continuous stream of speech is another important element in fluency of pronunciation. A staccato type of delivery was found by B. Lumsden Milne[1] to be one of the major speech faults of Asiatic students in Malaya. This fault is possibly based on the misconception that each printed word is a separate unit of speech rather than part of a continuous chain of sounds forming the phrase or breath unit.

Besides fluency of pronunciation, speech also requires a certain fluency of word meanings and constructions. Though this is also required in writing, it is even more essential in speaking, where the words and sentence patterns needed to express ideas must be on the tip of the tongue. In writing there is time to think, weigh, and choose, but in speech the accurate response needs to be immediate and automatic.

The mechanical skills involved in written expression are handwriting (or typing) and spelling. The former usually presents few difficulties to the foreign student of English. The latter causes difficulty largely owing to the unphonetic nature of English spelling, but it is a difficulty that can be overcome by sufficient drill. For most foreign learners, spelling is not one of the major obstacles to complete mastery of written English. Compared with the difficulties of mastering speech, spelling is a relatively minor task. The real difficulties of mastering written expression are those already mentioned in the general discussion of expression, namely, recall and selection of vocabulary, moulding the type of expression to suit the social situation, correct use of constructions and sentence patterns, and the logical ordering of the ideas to be expressed, and fitting them to the vehicles provided in the foreign language. These constitute the hard core of the problem of correct expression

[1] Lumsden Milne, B. *English Speech for Asiatic Students*, pp. 13–16. Heffer, 1935.

in a foreign language. In each case the pupil has already firmly fixed habits in his native tongue and these produce a kind of resistance to the formation of the new habits required for the mastery of the foreign language. Where learning is successful, the new language habit becomes firmly fixed; where it is only partly successful, the old habits break through and impose themselves upon the new material of the foreign language, this leading to literal translation and the use of un-English constructions.

As will appear to the reader from the above analysis, incomplete as it is, the abilities required in learning English are many and various. For the teacher, the problem is both to maintain a balance between the development of the different abilities, and, at the same time, to emphasize those that are of more fundamental importance for the pupils' ultimate mastery of English as a foreign language.

Book Reviews

GOOD ENGLISH: HOW TO WRITE IT. G. H. Vallins. *Pan Books*, 1951. 256 pages. 2*s*.

The author of this book, which he calls a 'utility reference book', discusses the craft he himself practises as a teacher of English and an occasional contributor to *Punch* and *John O'London's Weekly*. As one might expect, therefore, he is well versed in the problems and pitfalls of his subject and, even if his matter is not strikingly new, it contains much that is provocative, and his manner is entertaining and varied. The book may be recommended to both native and advanced foreign students of our language, either for reading, study, or reference.

By defining and explaining the principles of expression, and by criticising examples of faulty English culled from some half dozen English newspapers, an attempt is made to intensify the reader's sensitivity to good English. And this is done without pedantry. The author stresses the continuity and subtlety of changes in linguistic conventions, rightly saying that formalised records of accidence and syntax are bound to be in some respects out of date even before they are published, and that formalised precepts attempting to regulate the use of words are to be received with a critical mind. A useful point is made in insisting that standard or current usage has within it all kinds of specialized language, and that there is, for instance, an appropriate context for both 'house' and 'alternative accommodation'. Some shrewd hits are scored in tilting at such critics as Sir A. P. Herbert, Sir Ernest Gowers, Mr Ivor Brown, and even Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch.

The first three chapters of the book deal respectively with points of order (agreement and relationship), sentence patterns, and punctuation. There follows, with copious illustrative material, a useful discussion on jargon, cliché, and figure, and the relevance of much of the earlier material is shown in a subsequent chapter on letter-writing. A final chapter deals with the bugbear of English spelling. Whether, as the author suggests, the spelling reform required is to throw off all shackles and return to the idiosyncrasies of spontaneous phonetic spelling, is contentious. For entertainment, two 'interludes' are included, in the first of which the reader is invited to join with the author in pillorying faulty construction, and in the second the elegant variations and cloudy expressions of literary journalism and reviewer's English.

ENRICH YOUR ENGLISH. A. J. Glover. 102 pages. *Dent*. 2*s*. 3*d*.

A very practical book divided into twenty-five sections, each

section consisting of some fifteen linguistic exercises. The author states that the book is designed to strengthen vocabulary, but although the majority of the exercises have this aim, the net result will be a general all-round improvement in the student's ability to write accurately. The second part of each section consists of a well-chosen literary extract, on which is based vocabulary, précis, and comprehension practice. This book is admirably suited for general language practice at the standard of the Cambridge Proficiency Examination for foreign students.

THE MYSTERIOUS UNIVERSE (by Sir James Jeans). Adapted and edited by George F. Wear for *The Bridge Series*. 86 pages. *Longmans Green*. 2*s*. 6*d*.

This is an abridgement of a book that appeared about twenty years ago. The vocabulary has been simplified by the elimination of words not included in the *Carnegie Interim Report on Vocabulary Selection*, except for those words essential to the text. These are explained in a glossary.

The aim of text simplification is to provide straightforward and fairly easy reading material. To achieve this end the simplification of syntax is as important as the simplification of vocabulary. The author's syntax has not been changed in this version. Jeans was a clear writer, but there are many long and involved sentences in this book. It seems strange that the reader should be expected to cope with these and yet need notes, in the glossary, on the meanings of such common words as *ant-hill*, *arithmetic*, *brake*, *bullet*, *chemistry*, *earthquake*, *geometry*, *lightning*, *mirror*, *multiply*, and *telescope*. These are words we may reasonably expect to be known to any student of English likely to read this book. They are not in the *Carnegie Report*, it is true, but this *Report* is a list of 'must' words, words which should be included in a language course. It represents not a maximum but a minimum vocabulary.

Here is an extract from this adaptation:

> 'The idea of strict causation finds no place in the picture of the universe which the new physics gives us. The result is that this picture contains more room than did the old mechanical picture for life and consciousness to exist in the picture itself, together with those things we commonly associate with them, such as free-will, and the power to make the universe in some small degree different by our presence.'

This is fairly stiff reading. Yet it is assumed that the reader may need glosses for such words as *arithmetic*, *chemistry*, *telescope*, and others listed above. Vocabulary level and syntax level should surely run parallel. Some of the assumptions made by the General

Editor of the series seem to need reconsideration. By all means let the reader be provided with notes on such words as *atom*, *electron*, *neutron*, *nucleus*, *molecule*, *nebula*, *photon*, *quantum theory*, and *spectrum*. But might the editor not take for granted *geometry* and *gramme*? Might the reader not be helped by some simplification of sentence structure?

MOSHESH—THE MAN ON THE MOUNTAIN. J. Grenfell Williams. xi + 152 pages. *Oxford University Press* (*Geoffrey Cumberlege*), 1950. 2*s*. 3*d*.

In *English Language Teaching*, V. I, an abridged edition of *The Warden* (by Anthony Trollope) in the *English Readers' Library* was reviewed. *Moshesh* is another of these volumes designed to act as a stepping-stone between simplified texts and the full range of English literature. This book, however, is not an abridged version, but has been specially written for the series in a clear, simple English both easy to read and of linguistic value for the student. Indeed, judged by the best literary standards, the style is of a high quality and may well serve as a model of good English.

The book tells the story of the African native chief who founded the Basuto people, of his clashes with the other tribes and with the Boers, and of his rather curious relations with the British, alternating between faithful allegiance and open warfare before the final agreement whereby his territory was declared British and his people subjects of Queen Victoria. It is an enthralling story and should arouse considerable interest. The simplification of language has, however, caused a simplification of thought which leaves much of the story unexplained. This danger was obviously clear to the author, for in an Introduction he briefly relates the main events. Nevertheless, one or two points in the story remain unclear and could have been explained more amply. A glossary of difficult words, either at the end or in the form of footnotes, would also have enhanced the value of the book.

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